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SENATE HISTORY

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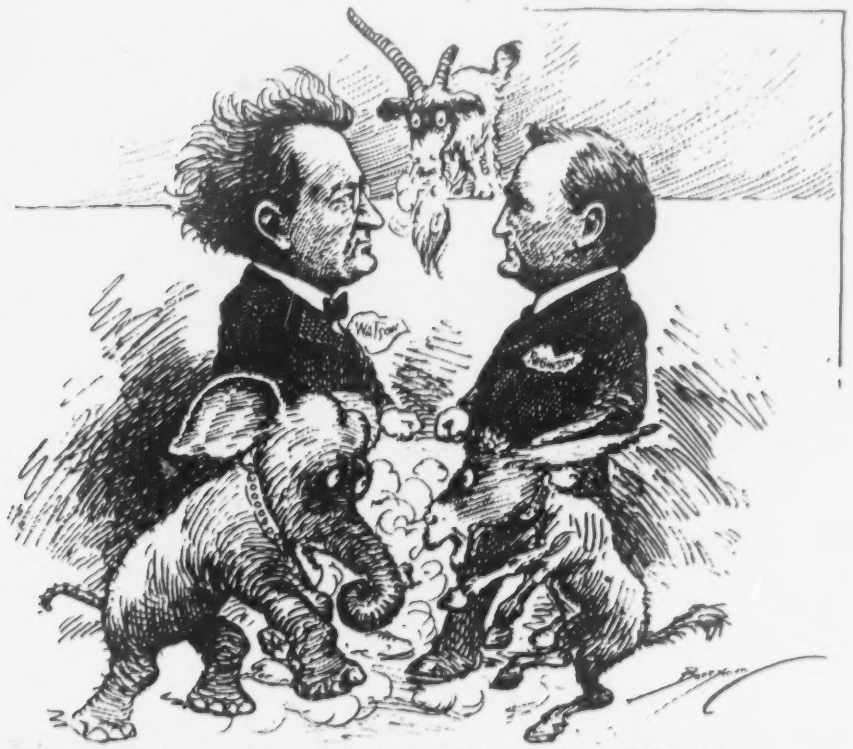
The Senate Majority and Minority Leaders

The party leader's principal weapon is his own persuasiveness. A major share of his time is devoted to lobbying -- flattering, cajoling, appealing to the senators' sense of party loyalty, arguing the merits of legislative measures. The more effective leaders are, in fact, "conducting a continuous caucus on the floor, in the corridors and cloakrooms, over the telephone." If all the efforts at persuading a straying party member fail, and they do with some senators on almost every vote in which the leadership takes an interest, the leaders seek to persuade the maverick to absent himself from the chamber during the vote, or at least not to dramatize the party split by playing an active role in floor debate.

-- from Donald R. Matthews, U.S. Senators and Their World (1960), pp. 126-27

Contested elections for both the Republican and Democratic Senate leaders at the onset of the 99th Congress raised questions about the frequency of such contests and the origins of the floor leadership. The posts of Majority and

(Continued on page 5)



Majority Leader James Watson confronts Democratic Leader Joseph Robinson, c. 1929-1931. -Library of Congress

Senate Publishes First Records Management Handbook For Members

The Senate Historical Office, in May 1985, will issue a new publication entitled *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Repositories.* Designed to facilitate and support basic senatorial office functions, the handbook also encourages senators to preserve their office records for future historical research. This publication appears at a time when Senate offices are rapidly acquiring office automation equipment that will forever alter the way their records are created and maintained.

For "managing" information and preserving historical records, these changes may bode ill or well, depending on the strategies and procedures each office adopts. Offices that have been functioning smoothly enough without much planning must now assume more responsibility, or risk creating the intolerable situation where information is not readily available when needed. On the other hand, offices that plan for the disposition of information stored on their automated systems will be able to achieve much more than crisis management. They will have at their fingertips the information necessary to support a member in an active leadership role and in the process be creating a much richer historical resource.

To assist staff in developing information management plans, Senate Archivist Karen D. Paul has compiled a handbook that provides straightforward instructions on how to set up files that segregate permanent records from transitory material and how to manage the

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S940-12

University of Nevada, Reno Acquires Laxalt Papers

by Robert E. Blesse, Head
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University of Nevada, Reno

In the fall of 1982 an important and somewhat unique agreement was formalized between the University of Nevada, Reno and United States Senator Paul Laxalt. The agreement is important because it brings about the deposit in the UNR Library of Laxalt's senatorial papers and records. Its uniqueness lies in the combination of plans to deposit materials while the senator is still in office, and to bring to his Washington, DC office a member of the library's staff to work on those papers.

Senator Laxalt initially began to consider depositing his papers in the library when he received a letter from retiring Nebraska Senator Carl T. Curtis. In his letter Curtis stated:

As I wind up 40 years of service in the Congress, I find that many memories as well as words of advice come to mind, but I'll save the memories and spare you the advice -- with one exception.

I have discovered the usefulness of taking steps to ensure that senatorial papers and files are properly preserved. I well know that in the press of current legislation and other day-to-day affairs, it is easy for both ourselves and our staffs to ignore this area.

Each of us, though, for better or for worse, becomes a part of history on the day we are sworn in. I think it behooves us to see that our careers are accurately portrayed by historians (at least!). Providing proper storage for and access to our papers helps facilitate this.

With Curtis' advice in mind, Laxalt contacted the Special Collections Department of the UNR Library to ask whether it would be interested in becoming his depository. After an enthusiastic affirmative reply, a formal agreement of deposit was written and the process was begun that would bring the first group of materials to the university.

Our agreement with Senator Laxalt stipulated that I would go to Washington to work on the papers as a member of his staff. During my stay I had three major objectives I wished to accomplish: to inventory, pack, and ship to the library all inactive records in storage; to familiarize myself with the day-to-day operation of the senator's office, particularly regarding the creation and storage of correspondence and other office records; and, to prepare a records management program that would provide for the scheduled retention and retirement of all office records.

Upon my arrival in Senator Laxalt's office, I filled out the necessary papers to become an official staff member of the United States Senate, was given a desk to use, and began five weeks of work. My first task was to meet everyone working in the office and to find out what they do, in particular how they use and generate records. After a few days, and voluminous notes, I had a good idea of each person's duties and how the office operated.

My next objective was to determine the different kinds of records generated in the office and how they are organized. To do this, I conducted a detailed survey of the office records, delving into file cabinets and recording in detail what I found within. By far, the most substantial amount of material I found was in-coming and out-going correspondence -- approximately 6,000 pieces of mail are received each month.

Along with correspondence I found a variety of other files in the office. These included legislative files, with notes, background materials, and briefing memos sent to the senator by the legislative aides; administrative files containing invitations, acknowledgements, schedules, and requests for autographs, photographs of the senator, flags flown over the Capitol, etc.; press files including speeches, clippings, press releases, and newsletters; the senator's personal correspondence to constituents, colleagues, business leaders, and many national and political figures. Data from the survey was used to design a records management plan that includes recommendations on standardization of filing systems and subject headings and specifies when records should be retired to storage, and after what period of time they should be sent to the library.

After two weeks of interviewing staff and surveying office records, it was time to tackle my final objective, the packing and inventorying of seven years

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Editor Richard A. Baker
Production Manager Elizabeth Ann Hornyak
Layout and Design John O. Hamilton

of office records stored in a dim locker in the attic of the Russell Senate Office Building. I was somewhat dismayed when I first viewed the stack of boxes, all covered with a thick layer of dust. Some of the boxes had split at the seams and their contents threatened to spill onto the floor; fortunately all were labeled, though some rather scantily. It was obvious that in the fast pace of a Senate office, the materials had been packed in haste and sent to the attic to be forgotten or rarely looked at again.

Despite rumors, I was assured the attic was not inhabited with rats (only mice, evidenced by abundant traps). My fears allayed, I spent the next two weeks making my daily ascent, sorting, inventorying, and packing the ubiquitous boxes of paper. These papers, which are now on deposit in the UNR Library, will receive further organization by the Special Collections Department's manuscript curator and myself. This in-depth processing stage is greatly enhanced by the knowledge I gained in Laxalt's office and through consultation in Washington with the Library of Congress, National Archives, Senate Historical Office, Senate Computer Center, and Micrographics Division. Because of this information, we know the origin of office files, who was responsible for them, and how they were used. Since the senator is still in office, we are able to consult his staff when questions arise.

Through the urging of the Senate Historical Office and because of a growing realization that senatorial papers are of great historical value, a number of other senators have begun to choose repositories for their papers earlier in their careers. This helps avoid the problems of hasty and haphazard packing during a senator's last days in office, and insures that the material reaches the designated repository in a consistent and organized manner.

More importantly, a records management plan that identifies historical records and earmarks them for preservation greatly improves the research value of a senatorial collection. The survival of such records is not left to chance. My own experience in Washington was invaluable and unique. Many archivists whose repositories have received a collection of senatorial papers have not had the opportunity to spend a few weeks learning about the operation and organization of the Senate office which created the materials. The University of Nevada, Reno is pleased and fortunate to be participating in the deposit of Senator Laxalt's papers, and we hope other repositories can duplicate this experience in the coming years.

Editor's Note: This is the first in an occasional series of articies on the disposition and historical research value of senatorial manuscript collections.

Living Former Senators

As of April 1, 1985 there were 121 living former United States senators. Among them were 70 Democrats, 50 Republicans, and 1 Independent. Of those listed below, Jennings Randolph (D-WV) was the first to arrive on Capitol Hill, taking his oath as a House member on March 4, 1933. In 1936 Claude Pepper (D-FL), currently serving in the House, entered his first Senate term. The longest serving living former senators are James O. Eastland (D-MS; 36 years, 3 months) and Warren Magnuson (D-WA; 36 years). Magnuson also has the longest combined Senate-House tenure of those on this list, having served 44 years.

State	Service
ALABAMA	
Allen, Maryon (D)	1978
Sparkman, John (D)	1946-1979
Stewart, Donald W. (D)	1978-1981
ALASKA	
Gravel, Mike (D)	1969-1981
ARIZONA	
Fannin, Paul J. (R)	1965-1977
ARKANSAS	
Fulbright, J. William (D)	1945-1975
Hodges, Kaneaster (D)	1977-1979
Spencer, George Lloyd (D)	1941-1943
CALIFORNIA	
Hayakawa, S.I. (R)	1977-1983
Kuchel, Thomas H. (R)	1953-1969
Murphy, George (R)	1965-1971
Nixon, Richard M. (R)	1950-1953
Salinger, Pierre (D)	1964
Tunney, John V. (D)	1971-1977
COLORADO	
Allott, Gordon L. (R)	1955-1973
Haskell, Floyd K. (D)	1973-1979
CONNECTICUT	
Baldwin, Raymond E. (R)	1946-1949
Danaher, John A. (R)	1939-1945
Ribicoff, Abraham (D)	1963-1981
DELAWARE	
Boggs, J. Caleb (R)	1961-1973
Frear, J. Allen, Jr. (D)	1949-1961
Williams, John J. (R)	1947-1971
FLORIDA	
Gurney, Edward J. (R)	1969-1975
Pepper, Claude (D)	1936-1951
Smathers, George A. (D)	1951-1969
Stone, Richard (D)	1975-1980
GEORGIA	
Gambrell, David H. (D)	1971-1972
Talmadge, Herman E. (D)	1957-1981
HAWAII	
Fong, Hiram L. (R)	1959-1977
ILLINOIS	
Percy, Charles H. (R)	1967-1985
Stevenson, Adlai E. (D)	1970-1981
INDIANA	
Bayh, Birch (D)	1963-1981
Hartke, Vance (D)	1959-1977
IOWA	
Clark, Dick (D)	1973-1979
Culver, John C. (D)	1975-1981
Hughes, Harold E. (D)	1969-1975
Jepsen, Roger W. (D)	1979-1985
Miller, Jack (R)	1961-1973
KANSAS	
Carlson, Frank (R)	1950-1969
Darby, Harry (R)	1949-1950
Pearson, James B. (R)	1962-1978
KENTUCKY	
Chandler, Albert B. (D)	1939-1949
Cook, Marlow W. (R)	1968-1975
Cooper, John Sherman (R)	1946-1949 1952-1955 1956-1973
Huddleston, Walter D. (D)	1973-1985
LOUISIANA	
Edwards, Elaine S. (D)	1972
MAINE	
Hathaway, William D. (D)	1973-1979
Muskie, Edmund (D)	1959-1980
Smith, Margaret Chase (R)	1949-1973
MARYLAND	
Beall, J. Glenn, Jr. (R)	1971-1977
Brewster, Daniel B. (D)	1963-1969
Tydings, Joseph D. (D)	1965-1971
MASSACHUSETTS	
Brooke, Edward W. (R)	1967-1979
Smith, Benjamin A. (D)	1960-1962
Tsongas, Paul E. (D)	1979-1985

MICHIGAN	
Griffin, Robert P. (R)	1966-1979
MINNESOTA	
Anderson, Wendell R. (D)	1976-1978
Ball, Joseph H. (R)	1940-1942
	1943-1949
Humphrey, Muriel (D)	1978
McCarthy, Eugene J. (D)	1959-1971
Mondale, Walter F. (D)	1964-1976
MISSISSIPPI	
Eastland, James O. (D)	1941
	1943-1978
MISSOURI	
Briggs, Frank P. (D)	1945-1947
Symington, Stuart (D)	1953-1977
MONTANA	
Hatfield, Paul (D)	1978
Mansfield, Mike (D)	1953-1977
NEBRASKA	
Curtis, Carl T. (R)	1955-1979
Hruska, Roman L. (R)	1954-1976
Reynolds, Sam W. (R)	1954
NEVADA	
Bible, Alan (D)	1954-1974
Bunker, Berkeley L. (D)	1940-1942
Cannon, Howard W. (R)	1959-1983
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Cotton, Norris (R)	1954-1974
Durkin, John A. (D)	1975-1980
Murphy, Maurice J. (R)	1961-1962
McIntyre, Thomas J. (D)	1962-1979
NEW JERSEY	
Brady, Nicholas F. (R)	1982
Williams, Harrison A. (D)	1959-1982
NEW MEXICO	
Mechem, Edwin L. (R)	1962-1964
Schmitt, Harrison (R)	1977-1983
NEW YORK	
Buckley, James L. (CR)	1971-1977
Goodell, Charles E. (R)	1968-1971
Javits, Jacob K. (R)	1957-1981
NORTH CAROLINA	
Ervin, Sam J., Jr. (D)	1954-1975
Lennon, Alton A. (D)	1953-1954
Morgan, Robert (D)	1975-1981
OHIO	
Bricker, John W. (R)	1947-1959
Huffman, James W. (D)	1945-1946
Lausche, Frank J. (D)	1957-1969
Saxbe, William B. (R)	1969-1975
Taft, Robert, Jr. (R)	1971-1977
OKLAHOMA	
Bellmon, Henry (R)	1969-1981
Harris, Fred R. (D)	1964-1973
OREGON	
Neuberger, Maurine B. (D)	1960-1967
PENNSYLVANIA	
Clark, Joseph S. (D)	1957-1969
Schweiker, Richard S. (R)	1969-1981
Scott, Hugh D. (R)	1959-1977
RHODE ISLAND	
Pastore, John O. (D)	1950-1976
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Russell, Donald S. (D)	1965-1967
SOUTH DAKOTA	
Abourezk, James (D)	1973-1979
McGovern, George (D)	1963-1981
Pyle, Gladys (R)	1938-1939
TENNESSEE	
Baker, Howard H., Jr. (R)	1967-1985
Bass, Ross (D)	1964-1967
Brock, William III (R)	1971-1977
Gore, Albert (D)	1953-1971
TEXAS	
Daniel, Price (D)	1953-1957
Tower, John (R)	1961-1985
Yarborough, Ralph W. (D)	1957-1971
UTAH	
Bennett, Wallace F. (R)	1951-1974
Moss, Frank E. (D)	1959-1977
VIRGINIA	
Byrd, Harry F., Jr. (I)	1965-1983
Scott, William L. (R)	1973-1979
Spong, William B., Jr. (D)	1966-1973
WASHINGTON	
Magnuson, Warren G. (D)	1944-1981
Mitchell, Hugh B. (D)	1945-1946
WEST VIRGINIA	
Randolph, Jennings (D)	1958-1985
WISCONSIN	
Nelson, Gaylord (D)	1963-1981
WYOMING	
Hansen, Clifford (R)	1967-1978
McGee, Gale W. (D)	1959-1977
Simpson, Milward L. (R)	1962-1967

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Releases New Volume of Historical Series

The aftermath of the Bay of Pigs invasion is a major subject of the newly published executive session transcripts of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Historical Series. Volume XIII, part 2, covers events from June through December, 1961.

An unusual feature of this volume is the closed-door testimony of three newspaper correspondents, Henry Raymont of United Press International, and Tad Szulc and Max Frankel of the *New York Times*, who told the committee of their experiences in Miami and Cuba at the time of the invasion. Raymont had been jailed in Havana for six days while the invasion was underway. Szulc and Frankel informed the senators how easy it had been to obtain information about the American role in planning the invasion, before it was launched. "Where can I get some information?" Szulc asked Cuban contacts in Miami. "You are an American newspaperman," they responded. "Why don't you go to the CIA?" Szulc asked who to talk to and was told, "Here is the name of the people we work with. Why don't you telephone them?" The reporter asked, "Is it really that simple?" They replied, "Yes, of course." Listening to this testimony, Senator Homer Capehart (R-Ind.) commented: "Everybody but the United States Senate knew that."

In an article in the *Washington Post*, December 23, 1984, discussing the new volume, *Post* reporter Murrey Marder noted:

The appearance of all three newsmen before the subcommittee headed by Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) was entirely voluntary, and the request raised no question of journalistic propriety in their minds, Szulc, the main witness, said yesterday in an interview.

"It never had the formal appearance that it seems to have today," he said. "I guess we were very innocent about such things in those days." They were responding "out of a sense of courtesy" to people they knew well, he said, and "it was like having tea with the subcommittee" that had asked "Would you be kind enough to come and share with us what you have seen?"

These days, Szulc said, for many "there is almost a sinister aspect" to such requests.

Copies of this volume, and past volumes in the series still in stock, are available at no charge to those who write to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C. 20510, or call (202) 224-4620.

The Senate Majority and Minority Leaders (Continued)

Minority Leaders, so pivotal in current operations of the Senate, developed only in the twentieth century. Earlier, individual senators had exerted leadership depending upon the strength of their personalities, their committee chairmanships, or their roles as spokesmen for an incumbent presidential administration. But because the Senate was considered a body of equals, senators took care not to claim formal leadership. "I do not like to be a dictator in any sense," protested Henry Clay, the recognized leader of the Whigs in 1841. "You do it so well, you ought to like it," Democratic Senator James Buchanan shot back.

In his study of *Congressional Government* in 1885, Woodrow Wilson noted that "No one is *the* senator. No one may speak for his party as well as for himself." Yet, when Wilson became president in 1913, Senate Democrats elected John Worth Kern of Indiana as their caucus chairman and floor leader, to help Wilson enact his legislative program. Senator Kern became the first of the Majority Leaders, in the modern sense of the term.

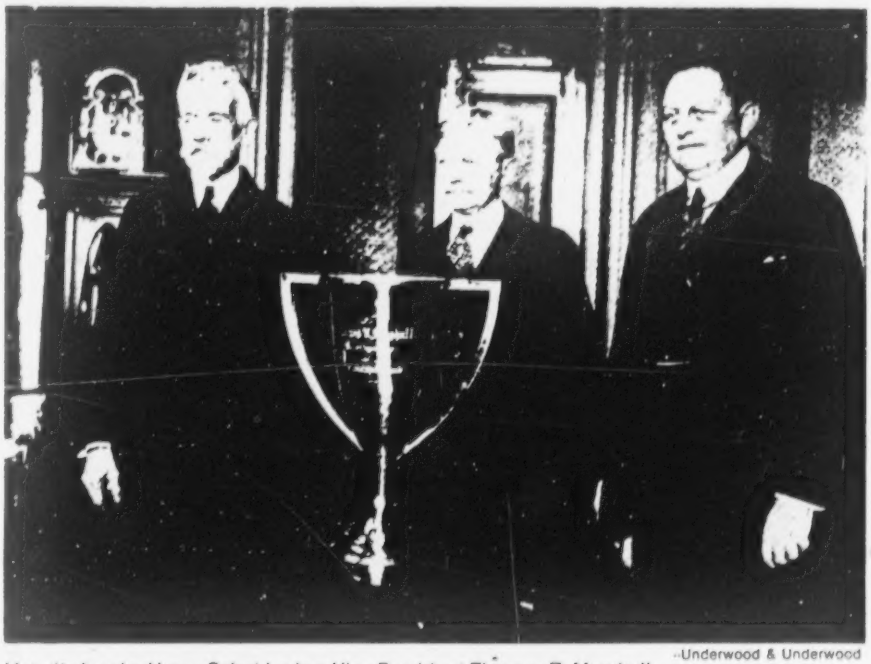
During the years between 1885 and 1913, political parties in the Senate became more organized and disciplined. They met more frequently and took more votes in caucus. Party leadership and the scheduling of floor activities became the domain of the party steering committees. Nominally, the caucus chairman served as his party's leader, but the post generally was determined by seniority and went to senators too old to exert vigorous leadership. By the turn of the century, real power in the Senate rested in the hands of a small group of committee chairmen, particularly Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, chairman of the Finance Committee, and William Allison of Iowa, chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Visitors in the gallery might never have identified Aldrich as a party leader -- he avoided speaking on the floor whenever possible and preferred to deal in the cloakrooms and committee rooms. However, veteran Capitol Hill observers recognized Aldrich's influence. "Senator Aldrich is the leader not because he has been chosen chairman of this or that committee," wrote one newspaper correspondent, "but because he is the man to whom his party colleagues turn to advise them what to do." Officially, Aldrich served as Republican caucus chairman only from 1908 to 1909, but unofficially he had led his party for at least the previous decade.

Republican Leader Charles Curtis poses in 1928 with Joseph Robinson, his Democratic counterpart. --Harris & Ewing

The Democrats also chose their caucus chairmen by seniority. From 1903 to 1913, five senators held the Democratic post, but only Arthur Pue Gorman of Maryland could be said to have exercised effective leadership. In 1911 Senator Thomas Martin of Virginia became caucus chairman and was referred to as Minority Leader. But with Woodrow Wilson's election to the presidency, his progressive supporters wanted a new leader in the Senate to manage Wilson's legislative program. Before the opening of the 63rd Congress, some thirty of the fifty-one Democratic senators met privately to agree on a candidate. They chose John W. Kern of Indiana, who had served just two years in the Senate, but who previously had run for vice president on the Democratic ticket headed by William Jennings Bryan. Senator Martin, realizing that the votes were against him, declined to seek reelection as caucus chairman, and Kern was elected unanimously.

Although the Democrats held only a narrow margin in the Senate, they were successful in enacting the bulk of Wilson's proposals. Kern benefited from a split in Republican ranks and from a "binding caucus" rule under which Democrats were bound to support any measure, other than a "matter of conscience," endorsed by a two-thirds vote of their caucus. Only once, due to a protracted filibuster against Wilson's ship purchase bill in 1915, did Kern fail to deliver a majority for an important piece of legislation. In 1916, when Kern was defeated for reelection, the Democrats returned to the seniority system and once again elected Thomas Martin as their caucus chairman. However, Martin's ill health caused the burden of leadership to fall on his lieutenants, Gilbert Hitchcock and Oscar Underwood. Following Martin's death, Democrats in 1920 elected Underwood of Alabama as their caucus chairman -- and for the first time designated the position as "floor leader." Underwood, a former House Democratic leader, held the post until 1923, when he declined to run for reelection because of his frustration over Senate rules and his intention to run for president. In his place, Democrats elected Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, who would hold the leadership for the next fourteen years.

While the Democrats chose leaders regardless of seniority, the Republicans continued to place senior members in their caucus chairmanship. Jacob Gallinger of New Hampshire had served twenty-two years in the Senate when he became Republican leader in 1913; and Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts had served twenty-six years by the time he took the Republican leadership in 1918. When Lodge died in 1924, Republicans elevated their party whip, Charles Curtis of Kansas, a relatively junior senator, to the chairmanship. And for the first time they designated the chairman as floor leader. In 1929, after Curtis had been elected vice president, President Herbert Hoover was stunned when Senate Republicans selected James E. Watson of Indiana as their leader. Watson had been one of Hoover's chief rivals for the Republican presidential nomination, and relations between the president and the Senate Majority Leader were never harmonious. In the Senate, however, Watson had a reputation of being able to work with a wide variety of members to achieve a majority. "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em," was his favorite saying. Once, when asked by reporters how he stood on a particular bill, Watson replied: "Well, boys it's this way. You see, I've got friends on both sides of this measure and you know I'm the kind of guy who stands with his friends."



--Underwood & Underwood

Majority Leader Henry Cabot Lodge, Vice President Thomas R. Marshall, and Democratic Leader Oscar Underwood with the loving cup presented by members of the Senate in 1921 to the retiring vice president.

Charles E. McNary of Oregon succeeded Watson as Republican leader in 1933. During the New Deal era, the Republican side of the Senate shrank so severely that the party for a time abolished the post of whip as unnecessary. Lacking the votes, McNary developed the strategy -- particularly effective during the Supreme Court "Packing" fight of 1937 -- of keeping relatively silent and allowing majority party members to fight among themselves. During these same years, Joe Robinson performed effectively as Democratic Majority Leader, enacting New Deal legislation at an unprecedented speed and rate of success. Robinson, wrote Joseph Alsop and Turner Catledge, was "pre-eminently a floor leader." When speaking in favor of a bill, his style was dignified and unexciting. "But if he is replying to an attack, then he is in his glory. He roars his sneers, and shouts his answering arguments, and bellows his proud perorations until his opponent/ is drowned out by volume of sound and violence of enunciation alone." Robinson served as Majority Leader until his sudden death in 1937, during the Court Packing fight, an event which doomed chances of passage of President Roosevelt's controversial proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court.

When Senate Democrats met to select Robinson's successor, the leading candidates were Senate Finance Committee chairman Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and Alben Barkley of Kentucky. President Roosevelt had sent a personal letter to Barkley, implying his support for his leadership bid. Barkley won by one vote, but the presidential intervention soured his victory. For years he was seen as Roosevelt's messenger to the Senate. Then in 1944, Barkley broke with Roosevelt over the president's veto of a tax bill, resigned as Majority Leader, and was promptly releected by the Democratic conference. "Now . . . ," said one Democratic senator, "he speaks for us to the president."

In the 1940s, following McNary's death and Barkley's election to the vice presidency, Senate party floor leader-

ship fell to secondary figures in both parties. The Republicans elected Wallace H. White of Maine as their floor leader, while Robert Taft of Ohio was widely conceded to be the party's real leader in the Senate. Taft preferred to operate from the post of chairman of the Republican Steering Committee, and the Policy Committee, rather than take on the daily chores of floor leader, even when the Republicans won the majority of the Senate in the 80th Congress. Democrats chose Scott Lucas of Illinois as their leader in 1949, and Ernest McFarland of Arizona in 1951, even though Richard Russell of Georgia remained the most influential Democratic leader. In 1953, with Eisenhower's election to the presidency, Senator Taft decided to accept the role of Republican Majority Leader, but Senator Russell once again rejected appeals that he become Democratic Minority Leader. Russell's action cleared the way for the Democratic whip, freshman Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, to become floor leader. Three Democratic liberals cast ballots for Senator James Murray of Montana, but Senator Hubert H. Humphrey moved that Johnson's election be unanimous.

Robert Taft died seven months after assuming the leadership and was succeeded by Senator William F. Knowland of California. The margin between the parties was so slight that Taft's death, and the deaths and replacement of several other senators, actually gave the Democrats a majority, even though the Republicans had organized the Senate and controlled the committee chairs. Once, when Johnson successfully adjourned the Senate over Knowland's objections, Knowland complained of being a Majority Leader with a minority. Johnson bantered back that the only thing worse was to be "a Minority Leader with a majority."

With the 84th Congress in 1955, Johnson became Majority Leader in name as well as in fact, and he quickly revamped both his position and the operations of the Senate. To consolidate his support, he arranged to appoint all new senators to at least one major committee. Johnson began to make far greater use of unanimous consent agreements, in effect shifting primary action on legislation from the Senate floor to private negotiations off the floor. Johnson also kept tight control of the flow of business on the floor, alternating between long stretches of inaction and periods of frenetic activity, including the frequent threat and use of night sessions. It is safe to say that no Majority Leader, to that time, had ever dominated the legislative process as did Lyndon Johnson, or that the Senate would ever tolerate such domination again. Johnson's successor, Mike Mansfield of Montana, adopted a much more lenient and low-key approach to the leadership. Mansfield's successor, Senator Robert C. Byrd, who became Democratic Leader in January 1977, has described his style of leadership as being "considerate of others." The Leader "has to have the confidence of his colleagues," said Senator Byrd. "He must, if he is going to be efficient in finding the basis in connection with each individual measure upon which to bargain, upon which to compromise, upon which to build a consensus, because it is around that consensus that a majority of votes must be built, if a majority is to be built."

On the Republican side, Senator Knowland's decision not to run for reelection in 1958 opened a contest for the party leadership in which Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois defeated John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky by a vote of 20 to 14. Although in the minority during his ten years as Republican Leader, Dirksen became an immensely popular public figure through his eloquent speeches, and a skillful marshaler of the minority forces in the chamber. Dirksen's decision to support the Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, assured passage of that landmark legislation. When Dirksen died in 1969, party whip Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania was challenged for the leadership by freshman Senator Howard Baker. Scott won the Minority Leader's post by a vote of 24 to 19, and again in 1971 defeated Senator Baker by a 24 to 20 vote. Fortunes changed for Senator Baker in 1977, after Scott's retirement, when he upset party whip Robert Griffin of Michigan by one vote. In 1981, Baker became the first Republican Majority Leader in twenty-six years. "I have tried to regularize -- indeed tried to civilize -- the work patterns of the Senate," he once said of his four years as Majority Leader. Senator Baker's retirement again opened the Republican leadership, which was won by Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, in a five-way race. Senator Dole was elected to that post exactly sixty years from the day his fellow Kansan, Charles Curtis, became the first designated Republican floor leader.

Suggested Readings on Senate Majority and Minority Leaders

David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869-1901* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

Horace Samuel Merrill and Marion Galbraith Merrill, *The Republican Command, 1897-1913* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1971).

Claude G. Bowers, *The Life of John Worth Kern* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbock Press, 1918).

Evans C. Johnson, *Oscar W. Underwood: A Political Biography (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).*

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Senate Historical Office

Legislative Archives Division Established

The National Archives recently announced an organizational change designed to improve reference and preservation services for its holdings of Senate records. As part of the administrative restructuring associated with the Archives' reversion to independent agency status on April 1, the agency's management has created a new Legislative Archives Division. This move elevates the custodial unit for legislative records from a section within the Legislative and Diplomatic Branch of the Civil Archives Division to separate division status, comparable to a presidential library.

Not since 1969 has the legislative unit had a separate identity with corresponding budget and staff. From a staff of eight full time professionals in 1968 the unit declined to two full time archivists and one technician in 1982. During that same period, Senate holdings increased from 11,800 cubic feet to 18,400 cubic feet. Frequent reorganization within the Archives and severe staff reductions undercut long term planning for legislative records. Basic preservation work on the Senate's 18th and 19th century records was delayed and the first inventory of Senate records, published in 1950, remained unrevised thus excluding the major component of the collection that arrived after 1950.

The Senate, in 1980, eliminated long standing inconsistencies regarding access to its records by adopting S.Res. 474. This measure established uniform public access guidelines for all Senate records at the National Archives. Two years later the Senate appropriated $300,000 in response to a warning by the Archivist of the United States that early Senate records were in jeopardy of being lost through deterioration. Improved funding for preservation and the increase in public demand resulting from more equitable access arrangements underscored the need for an adequately staffed custodial unit.

The new division will undertake all functions relating to Legislative Records formerly performed by the Legislative and Diplomatic Branch, including records accessioning, arrangement, description, preservation, reference, and providing assistance with appraisal. A Reference Branch will include two sections, one for the Senate and one for the House, while a Projects Branch will have a Preservation Section and a Projects Section.

With a larger staff, greater authority, and higher visibility, the Legislative Division will be better prepared to ensure researchers the widest possible access to fundamental records of the legislative process.

Three Oral History Interviews Open

Capitol Police Inspector Leonard Ballard, former chief of staff of the Foreign Relations Committee Carl Marcy, and former chief clerk of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee Stewart McClure have each given extensive interviews to the Senate Historical Office's oral history collection. Their oral history transcripts are now open and available for research in the Senate Library, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and the Legislative Records Division of the National Archives. Microfiche copies may also be purchased from Scholarly Resources, Inc. of Wilmington, Delaware. Scholarly Resources has also prepared microfiche copies of the previously released oral histories of retired Senate staff members, including those with Francis Attig, reporter of Senate debates, Pat Holt, chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committees, J. Franklin Little, Senate page from 1910-1912, Warren Featherstone Reid, chief aide to Senator Warren Magnuson, Floyd Riddick, parliamentarian emeritus of the Senate, Darrell St. Claire, assistant secretary of the Senate, and Ruth Young Watt, chief clerk of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

LEONARD BALLARD

/Senator Revercomb/ called Louis Reed, his administrative assistant, who came and got me /in May 1947/. He took me through the office building and over to the Capitol. I didn't know what I was doing -- didn't question it. I went to one room -- held up my hand, signed my name here, you know. Over to the Disbursing Office and so forth. You see, I didn't plan to be here more than a few days anyhow. So I didn't care what /kind of temporary employment/ it was. I took that attitude. We went down to the basement, down the corridor, and here's a sign, "Capitol Police." Of course, naturally, I said, "What are we going to do here, Mr. Reed? Get fingerprinted?" I figured everybody who goes to work for the government gets fingerprinted. And he said,

Leonard Ballard

"No, no, you're going to join the Capitol Police force." Well, I had a cane! I said, "Capitol Police! Now, I'll tell you, that senator's known me since I was six years old, and I have no police experience. I don't want to get into anything that would embarrass him. Also, to tell you the truth, Mr. Reed, all my experience has been on the other side of the law.

By 3:00 o'clock that afternoon, Leonard Ballard was standing roll call in the uniform of a Capitol policeman. At the time the force consisted of 157 men, of whom a third were carried on the payroll as a favor to their congressional patrons but were not expected to appear for duty. The remainder were college students or retirees supplementing their pensions. Exactly 37 years later, on May 16, 1984, Ballard retired at the rank of Inspector. By then the department had expanded to 1,200 men and women, all full time professionals. During the intervening years, Ballard had risen rapidly through the ranks, holding every grade from private to acting chief.

The key to Ballard's successful accommodation to the vast changes that occurred within his working environment over nearly four decades can be found in his understanding of the special nature of police work on Capitol Hill. He observes, "I was never a policeman. I wasn't cut out to be a policeman. Because up here it is not police work. It is public relations." Disdaining the trends of modern police work that place a premium on electronic security systems, narcotics squads, and extended technical training programs, Ballard believes that the special nature of the congressional community prescribes a simple but basic mission for the Capitol Police -- support for members, kindness to staff, and courtesy to tourists. Ballard's superior memory and ability to illustrate significant points with appropriate anecdotes have combined to create a document that will deepen public understanding of the Senate's post World War II institutional development.

CAR[illegible]ARCY

When Congress reconvened after the /1960/ election, and Lyndon /Johnson/ was vice president, I encountered him one day in the Senate cloakroom, and he came up to me and grabbed my lapels, breathed in my face, and said, "What's wrong with that Bill Fulbright? I had it set up for him to be Secretary of State and he turned it down." I said, "Well, I didn't know anything about it." He said, "Well, I had it set up, and Bill called Dick Russell and said he wasn't interested. And I had it set up.

Carl Marcy

Carl Marcy's cloakroom encounter was only one of many occasions when he found himself caught between the towering and often conflicting figures of Lyndon B. Johnson and J. William Fulbright. Marcy came to the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from the State Department in 1950, and

served as the committee's chief of staff from 1955 through his retirement in 1973. In his oral history interviews he describes the activities of the then-Majority Leader Johnson to convince 91-year-old Theodore Green to resign as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in favor of Senator Fulbright. Marcy chronicles both the period when Johnson and Fulbright worked together, and when they dramatically split over the senator's objections to Johnson administration policies in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. It was a period when the bipartisan consensus in foreign policy unraveled and the gap between Congress and the White House steadily widened. No longer completely trusting the executive branch as a source of information, the Foreign Relations Committee expanded its staff and pursued more vigorous oversight of policy makers. The Foreign Relations Committee that Carl Marcy left in 1973 had become a strikingly different institution from the one he joined in 1960.

STEWART McCLURE

I think if there was one thing I ever did in my work on the Hill, my work for my whole career, it was to focus Lister Hill's attention on the opportunity which Sputnik, this Russian satellite, gave all of us who were struggling, and had been for decades, to establish a federal program of monetary aid to public education, and private, too, in some instances. And I'm really proud of that . . . . Hill was in Europe at the time, I think he was in Berlin when the damn satellite was shot up, so the impact on him must have been even stronger than it was here. I said /to Senator Hill's executive secretary, John Campbell/, "John, I want this /memorandum/ put on the top of the spike, all the yellow telephone messages and this, that, and the other can be underneath. I want him, when he comes in here tomorrow morning, to see this first . . . ." And boy, it worked, because within ten minutes after he /Senator Hill/ was in the office, the staff had a call, "Come on over here. Got your memorandum, St'rt, let's see what we can do." It worked. And he then set us off to business.

Stewart Mc Clure

For many years the Senate Labor Committee labored long each session only to see its handiwork stalled on the Senate floor or blocked in the House of Representatives. Then, under the effective leadership of Lister Hill (D-AL), the Labor Committee produced a series of landmark social legislation, much of which was enacted during the heyday of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Stewart E. McClure served as the committee's chief clerk during this turning point era, from 1955 to 1969, and from 1971 to 1973. In his oral history he recounts the committee's frustrations and its triumphs, and recalls its most significant members, among them Wayne Morse, John Kennedy, Joseph Clark, Jacob Javits, Barry Goldwater, and Everett Dirksen.

As chief clerk, McClure attended and took minutes for all executive sessions, scheduled hearings, oversaw the staff, assisted the chairman, drafted speeches, and served as an "idea man." One of his ideas was to link education and defense in the wake of the Soviet Sputnik scare, a proposal which resulted in the National Defense Education Act. McClure discusses both legislation and the legislative process, and the senators and staff who shaped American lawmaking from the 1950s to the 1970s. The majority of McClure's interview is open for research, although two sections have been closed until 1990.

Departing Senators Transfer Office Files and Manuscript Collections

Seven members left the Senate in January 1985, at the end of the 98th Congress. They disposed of their office files and personal papers as follows:

Baker, Howard H., Jr. (Tennessee)
Personal Custody

Huddleston, Walter D. (Kentucky)
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky
Papers: 1973-1984
ca. 700 feet
Senate papers only
Restricted until 1992

Jepsen, Roger W. (Iowa)
Iowa State Historical Department
State Historical Society Division
Iowa City, Iowa
Papers: 1968-1984
Closed, except with written permission of the senator, until his death

Percy, Charles H. (Illinois)
Chicago Historical Society
Chicago, Illinois
Papers: 1967-1984
ca. 1,800 feet of Senate papers
Correspondence closed for 20 years; other material, such as speeches, press releases, etc., is open

Randolph, Jennings (West Virginia)
Salem College
Salem, West Virginia
Papers: 1934-1984
ca. 900 boxes of political and personal papers
Plus photographs and memorabilia
Closed pending processing, scheduled to begin in 1985

Tower, John G. (Texas)
Southwestern University
Georgetown, Texas
Senate papers in the process of being shipped to the university
Decisions on access pending

Tsongas, Paul (Massachusetts)
University of Lowell
Lowell, Massachusetts
Papers: 1975-1984
ca. 400 boxes
Closed pending processing, but university will consider written requests for access

Origins of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution

"I believe that history will record that we have made a great and tragic mistake," warned Senator Wayne Morse (D-OR) when the Senate overwhelmingly passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in August 1964. Morse cast one of the two votes against the resolution, arguing that it was really a "predated declaration of war." In later years, President Lyndon Johnson would cite Morse's interpretation as correct. Morse "could read the language and understand it," said Johnson. "Congress gave us this authorization to do 'whatever may be necessary' -- that's pretty far-reaching; that's 'the sky's the limit.'" But Johnson's National Security Advisor, McGeorge Bundy, gave contradictory testimony. Congress "didn't decide to put 150,000 people in Vietnam," Bundy reasoned. "They didn't decide to bomb the North. They decided to fire a warning shot and they passed a resolution that endorsed a warning shot as they saw it. But, of course, in formal language it endorsed a lot more."

The deepening American involvement in Vietnam from 1961 to 1964, early Congressional skepticism, U.S. involvement in the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem, and the origins of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution -- and what Congress intended in that resolution -- are meticulously presented in *The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War: Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships,* Part II, 1961-1964 (Senate Print 98-185, part 2). This volume was prepared for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by William Conrad Gibbons of the Congressional Research Service, and is part of a projected four-volume series. The research drew on many still-classified documents and on interviews with participants. It is available for sale through the Government Printing Office for $10. (Copies of volume 1 are still available at $8.95.)

Records Management Handbook (Cont.) disposition of automated files and information. While a description of basic functions has been available for some time in the Senate's *Congressional Handbook,* offices have been without a comprehensive reference guide that outlines steps they must take to prevent the inadvertent destruction or loss of their records. Besides defining specific categories of historical records all offices are likely to accumulate, the manual also identifies records of transitory value and designates them for temporary retention.

One especially useful section of the handbook includes a sample files plan and disposition schedule that offices can use as a model for setting up files and for delegating maintenance tasks among the staff. A chapter on automated records covers both centralized and decentralized systems. Descriptions of each centralized system (systems available to all members' offices) are given together with recommended disposition of the media and various types of reports available either as printouts or on computer output microfilm. For decentralized systems (systems unique to each office), office managers are urged to identify permanently valuable information before a system is operational and to develop a coding scheme to tag items for permanent retention as they are entered. To help categorize such information, descriptions of a variety of automated files and types of information are listed together with advice on retention and disposition. An inventory form is provided to document the systems and applications and to authorize disposition. Staff are reminded that electronic mail is likely to contain at least some information that should be retained and disposition guidelines are suggested.

Besides files management, the manual provides guidelines for various complex and troublesome issues including the management of sensitive records, micrographics, courtesy storage, and repository matters. Some of this information will be of as much use to repositories as to Senate offices. In fact, repository archivists, armed with basic information about Senate files and automated systems, will have the tools to become more involved with the preservation of senatorial collections at the earliest possible time in the life cycle of these collections.

In 1978 the National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials recommended in its report to Congress that office files and personal papers of members of Congress be legally designated as federal records. Since then historical and archival attention has continued to focus on the preservation, disposition, and research quality of these sometimes very large and uneven collections. In September 1978, the Senate sponsored a two-day Conference on the Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers. Designed to answer the question, "Who uses senators' papers and why?" the meeting attracted 250 historians, archivists, and congressional staff aides. The result was an unprecedented exchange of information on an increasingly troublesome and rapidly expanding category of public records. (Senate Post Office figures provide evidence of the expansion rate, showing that in 1977 32½ million pieces of mail were received by the Senate contrasted to 41½ million in 1984.)

At its conclusion, the conference issued a unanimous recommendation that work begin on a handbook for members on the effective management of senatorial papers. This new publication is a direct result of the 1978 conference. Preliminary drafts were circulated for comment to selected Senate office managers, specialists within the National Archives, and custodians of senators' papers in repositories across the Nation. The Historical Office conducted two seminars for office managers. At these sessions, participants offered revisions to reflect current office administrative practice.

Copies of the *Handbook* will be distributed to all senators. Others may request single free copies from the Senate Historical Office.

Research Collections Supplement

A 24-page supplement to the 1983 edition of the *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789-1982* is now available from the Senate Historical Office. The update includes additional information for seventy-five former senators. Single copies of the *Guide* are also available upon request from the U.S. Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C., 20510.

Meeting of the Senate and House leadership in the Senate Republican Leader's office during the late 1960s. Clockwise from left: House Democratic Majority Leader Carl Albert, House Republican Minority Leader Gerald Ford, Senate Republican Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, Senate Republican Secretary J. Mark Trice, unknown, House Speaker John McCormack, Senate Democratic Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, and Democratic Senator B. Everett Jordan, chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Senate History
Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Jo Anne L. Coe
SECRETARY OF U.S. SENATE

SENATE HISTORY

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February 1986

Number 11

The First Senate Office Building

Today, three handsome Senate office buildings line Constitution Avenue on Capitol Hill. The Richard Brevard Russell Building (1909), the Everett McKinley Dirksen Building (1958), and the Philip A. Hart Building (1982), all arose, in their turn, to meet ever-growing demands for work space triggered by the nation's rise to world power status and the greater accessibility of members to constituents in the twentieth century. This quest for space began as early as 1851 with groundbreaking for the Capitol wings that house the current chambers of Congress. Terraces providing further office quarters were added between 1884 and 1892. In 1897 the Library of Congress moved out of the Capitol, freeing up valuable office space in the west central portion of the building. With these changes underway, members of the Senate decided the time had come to address the longstanding problem of insufficient room for their personal offices.

During the terrible winter of 1888-1889 senators perceived their space problem to be particularly critical. That winter frigid winds whipped through the frozen streets and howled through the hotels, boarding houses and homes where senators were forced, by scarcity of space in the Capitol, not only to live but to work. There was no room in the crowded Capitol's labyrinthine corridors to accommodate even the tiniest

(continued on page 9)

Architect's Rendering of the Maltby Building, 1887.

S940-13

When the Senate Gave Up the Frank

Franking privileges -- the ability to send mail by one's signature rather than by postage -- date back to the British House of Commons in the seventeenth century. The American Continental Congress adopted this procedure in 1775, and the First Congress wrote it into law in 1789. In addition to senators and representatives, the president, cabinet secretaries, and certain other executive branch officials also were granted the frank. In those days, every newspaper printer could send one paper postage free to every other newspaper printer in the country.

Then as now the frank was a controversial perquisite. Some nineteenth century senators mailed home their laundry each week, enclosing another frank for sending it back. Others franked barrels of china for free, but registered them for a few cents, thus making the government liable for any breakage. At the end of each session most members franked home a trunk that might contain documents, office paraphernalia, bedding, and other household goods. Legend had it that one antebellum senator attached his frank to his horse's bridle and sent the animal home to Pittsburgh. Critics accused incumbents of flooding the mails with government documents, speeches, and packages of seeds all designed to enhance their reelection prospects. The seeds, provided by the Department of Agriculture, were especially popular during the years when the rural population still outnumbered city dwellers. (One congressman received a letter from a constituent thanking him for the very

(continued on page 7)

First Installment of Henry M. Jackson Papers Opened

The Congressional Papers Project of the University of Washington Libraries has opened for research use four sets of early papers, 1936-72, and the voting records, 1941-83, of the late Henry M. Jackson.

One set of early papers includes material from the time of Jackson's service as Snohomish County Prosecutor, 1938 to 1940. The other three document his tenure as 2nd District congressman, 1940 to 1952, and United States senator, 1952 to 1972. More recent records will be opened as they are processed.

Records from the pre-House period include material that touches on many of the local political issues of the day, including Jackson's unsuccessful bid for Snohomish County Superior Court Judge in 1939 and his decision to run for Congress in 1940. The House and Senate material contains documentation on many of Jackson's broad ranging interests including issues regarding local politics, fisheries, merchant marine development, commodity controls and allocations, housing, public power development, native American affairs, national security matters, and NATO. Records resulting from his service on numerous committees including Joint Atomic Energy, Armed Services, and Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations are also included.

These papers, which have detailed finding aids, are available for research use at the Manuscripts Section, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Washington, 98195. Scholars are advised to contact the library prior to scheduling a visit.

Representative-elect Henry M. Jackson December 1940

Congressional Papers Conference

On July 31 and August 1, 1985 nineteen historians, archivists, and records administrators met at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia under the sponsorship of the Everett Dirksen Congressional Center and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). Their objective was to discuss the establishment of standards and criteria that could be used by repositories in accepting and administering collections of congressional papers. The attendees also sought to develop guidelines that would be useful for the NHPRC in deciding whether to provide funding support for projects involving such papers. In rejecting a recent request from a university to assist in processing a retired senator's papers, the Commission apparently felt that it lacked sufficient evaluative criteria to judge the quality of the collection and the ability of the repository to effectively manage the collection.

Rather than concentrating on specific curatorial issues of appraisal, negotiation and acquisition, transfer, processing, and servicing collections, the group considered what broad actions and specific activities are necessary to improve the preservation of the documentary record of Congress. Participants endorsed the establishment of minimum standards for collections. These would allow funding agencies and prospective repositories to evaluate a collection on such considerations as its compatability with an institution's existing collections, the importance of the member's career, ease of processing, and the likelihood of effective use.

Attendees also advocated creation of minimum standards for repositories for the guidance of prospective donors of collections and financial support. These standards would focus on repository physical plant and environment, adequacy of professional staff, extent of institutional commitment and resource base, ability to handle sensitive data and classified information, promise of time-

Senate History is published on an occasional basis, with a minimum of one issue per year, by the United States Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. 20510 (202-224-6900). Copies are available without cost. Individuals and institutions may request to be added to the mailing list for this publicaion.

Editor Richard A. Baker
Production Manager Elizabeth Ann Hornyak
Layout and Design John O. Hamilton

ly processing, and the capacity to manage machine readable records.

Conferees also called for improved records management practices in congressional offices, observing that this is dependent upon the nature of office staffing and turnover, administrative organization, the member's commitment to records management, workload, technology, and the office's relationship with a repository. Participants felt keenly that archivists who have custody of congressional collections require special training in understanding the complexities of the legislative process so that they may deal more effectively with donors and users. The conference endorsed a new program of congressional archival fellowships. These fellowships would allow archivists to spend a month or two working in congressional offices to identify permanent records, draft a records retention schedule, and become familiar with the legislative process and the concerns of members and their staffs.

After identifying these and related general actions, the conferees turned their attention to the role to be played by specific groups in improving the documentary record of Congress. Top priority was accorded to the establishment within the Society of American Archivists of a special task force on congressional records. The task force would permit optimum involvement by all concerned groups, cutting across more traditional professional specializations. The conferees delineated roles for the National Archives, the historical offices of the Senate and House, and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The role of the Commission drew particular attention as conference participants agreed that it would be an appropriate body to promulgate collection and repository standards. This implies that the Commission would consider applying funding sanctions against projects that fail to meet these standards. The Commission might also solicit and disperse private funds to the benefit of congressional archives. Finally, NHPRC might consider funding demonstration projects chiefly relating to the impact of technology on the records of Congress and supporting audio-visual materials designed to foster improved records preservation practices in congressional offices.

This meeting built effectively on the foundation established by the Senate's 1978 Conference on Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers. The 1989 bicentennial of the Senate offers an unparalleled opportunity to capture the richness inherent in members' collections and to ensure that repositories are suitably equipped to administer these valuable resources. One conference participant concluded, "As a first step towards improving congressional papers this meeting fully succeeded. The group identified projects and established priorities for accomplishing them. I am hopeful that the work of this group will be translated into concrete projects that benefit NHPRC, Congress, and archivists." For a more detailed report of the conference, contact the Dirksen Congressional Center, Broadway and Fourth, Pekin, Illinois, 61554.

Two Former Senators Donate Papers

In recent months, two collections of the papers of recent United States senators have been donated to institutions in New England. In August, former New Hampshire Senator Thomas McIntyre presented his papers to the University of New Hampshire. Senator McIntyre's papers, located in the Special Collections Room of the Dimond Library, cover his sixteen years in the Senate, 1962-1978. McIntyre, the first Democrat elected to the Senate from New Hampshire in thirty years, served on the Armed Services Committee, the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee, and the Select Committee on Small Business. His papers reflect those interests. The McIntyre Collection, consisting of 219 feet of Senate-related material, includes clippings, photographs, bill files, news releases, constituent communications, newsletters and memorabilia. The McIntyre collection is catalogued, with a detailed finding aid, and open to researchers.

In late September, at a ceremony featuring former senator and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, and former President Jimmy Carter, the Edmund S. Muskie Archives was dedicated at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. Muskie graduated cum laude from Bates in 1936. The Muskie Archives represents the first such facility in Maine to be established in the context of a college or university. The collection, which includes 2,400 feet of material for the period 1914 to 1980, with particular emphasis on the years since the end of World War II, documents Muskie's youth and career from his first election to the Maine house of representatives in 1946, through his governorship and his twenty-two years in the United States Senate (1958-1980), until his appointment as Secretary of State in 1980 by President Carter. The Muskie Archives' holdings are closed pending completion of processing. Questions about access should be directed to the Edmund S. Muskie Archives, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, 04240.

Congress Authorizes Publication of Biographical Directory

In December 1985 the Senate and House approved Senate Concurrent Resolution 85 authorizing the compilation and printing of the *Bicentennial Edition of the Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. In 1982 the Senate Bicentennial Study Group, in its final report, noted that the existing edition of this 2,000-page directory, last published in 1972, suffered major shortcomings. According to the Study Group, the Directory "provides information on members only prior to and after their service in Congress, with no reference to their committee chairmanships or legislative accomplishments; it also lacks citations to biographies and other books by and about members." The new edition, compiled by the Senate and House historical offices and scheduled to be published in 1987, will incorporate these new categories of information. It will also include corrections for common errors in dates of birth, party affiliation, and other factual information. Additional details about the conduct of this project can be found in Senate Report 99-174 and House Report 99-429.

The Papers of Joe T. Robinson

by Michael J. Dabrishus
Head of Special Collections
University of Arkansas Libraries

Joseph Taylor Robinson

While it has been nearly half a century since the fiery voice of Senator Joe T. Robinson (D, 1913-1937) last resounded throughout the Senate chamber, it has only been recently that the vast body of his papers has become available for research at the University of Arkansas.

Joseph Taylor Robinson was born on a farm near Lonoke, Arkansas in 1872, one of eleven children. The Robinson household also included six orphans raised as part of the family. By the time Robinson was seventeen he was teaching school, an occupation which provided him with the funds to attend the University of Arkansas for two years. In 1892, he pursued the study of law in an office in Lonoke, about twenty-five miles east of Little Rock. At the age of twenty-two he was elected to the Arkansas General Assembly and served one term as representative. In 1895, after attending summer law school at the University of Virginia, he was admitted to the bar and began his practice in Lonoke. He quickly established a reputation as one of the leading criminal lawyers in Arkansas.

Robinson's initial success in the legal profession didn't dull his interest in politics. In 1902, he was elected to the United States House of Representatives from the 6th Arkansas District and served in this capacity for five consecutive terms, from 1903 to 1913. While a member of the House he was a staunch advocate of child labor laws and antitrust legislation. He returned to state politics in 1912 when he successfully ran in the governor's race. He was inaugurated the twenty-third governor of Arkansas on January 16, 1913, two days after resigning his House seat.

With the sudden death of Senator Jeff Davis (D, 1907-1913), the Arkansas General Assembly proceeded, on January 28, 1913, to elect Robinson to the vacant Senate seat. This gave Robinson the distinction of being the last senator elected by a state legislature before the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing for direct popular election, took effect. Thus, within a fourteen-day period, Robinson was U.S. representative, governor, and U.S. senator-elect, a rare occurrence in American political history.

Robinson first achieved national prominence as a supporter of Woodrow Wilson's legislative proposals during World War I. He stood by Wilson over the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Robinson's leadership abilities were recognized by the Democratic party as he was elected permanent chairman of the Democratic National Conventions in 1920, 1928, and 1936, becoming the first in the history of his party to serve as chairman of three national conventions. He continued to grow in popularity in his home state, too, where he was reelected to the Senate in 1918, 1924, 1930, and 1936 by ever-increasing majorities.

He was regarded as one of the ablest parliamentarians in the Senate where he succeeded Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama (D, 1915-1927) as minority leader in 1923 and served in that capacity for ten years. In 1928, the Democratic party selected Robinson as its vice presidential candidate on the ticket with Alfred E. Smith. It was during this campaign that he made some of his most fervent speeches for religious tolerance. In 1930, he attended the London Naval Conference as a member of the United States delegation.

In 1933, Robinson became Senate majority leader. President Roosevelt charged him with far-reaching responsibilities for putting through his massive

New Deal program. As Roosevelt's strongest ally in the Senate Robinson never wavered, and even supported some measures in which he personally didn't approve.

The last major political fight for Robinson occurred during Roosevelt's highly controversial attempt to reorganize the federal judiciary in an effort to increase the membership of the Supreme Court and make it more amenable to New Deal legislation. On July 14, 1937, after weeks of vigorously promoting the "court-packing" bill, Robinson succumbed to heart failure and any hope of the bill becoming law ended. *See page 12 for photograph of Robinson Funeral in the Senate Chamber.*

The papers Senator Robinson accumulated consist of 229 linear feet of correspondence to and from family members, his colleagues, and constituents, bill files, speech files, scrapbooks, campaign files, newspaper clippings, pamphlets, and photographs. The papers primarily cover the period 1900-1937. Only a handful of researchers, primarily graduate students working on dissertations or theses, had access to the papers when they were privately held. In 1976 the Robinson heirs agreed to donate the papers to the University of Arkansas which had actively sought them for nearly thirty years.

The National Endowment for the Humanities, realizing the significance of Robinson's role in the Senate and the immense potential in the papers, supported a processing project designed to meet professional archival standards to make the resources available as quickly as possible. The papers, which were in serious disarray when received, were initially divided according to Robinson's years in the House and Senate. They were further sub-divided into series arrangements according to major subject areas. An inventory to the files was prepared at the folder level, and an index to the letters of significant or prominent correspondents was created to facilitate greater access.

A major factor influencing the historical value of senatorial papers relates directly to the experience and character of the office holder. In Senator Robinson's case we have an individual who arrived on the national political scene during President Theodore Roosevelt's era as a U.S. Representative. His stature grew through the 1920s and 1930s to where he became President Franklin Roosevelt's right-hand man in the Senate. Although no major biography of Senator Robinson has been published to date, the papers are inviting for this and many other research purposes.

Researchers interested in the Robinson papers should contact the Special Collections Department, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 72701.

Developing The History Of Congress

At the Social Science History Association meeting in Chicago on November 22, 1985, a panel consisting of Professors Michael Les Benedict (Ohio State University), Allan Bogue (University of Wisconsin), Joel Silbey (Cornell University), Aage Clausen (Ohio State University), and David Brady (University of Houston) discussed "Developing the History of Congress." Allan Bogue noted that the study of Congress had suffered from the general disfavor, among historians, of the study of elites and institutions. Bogue observed that the history of congressional elections had drawn more attention than actual legislative activity, and had developed more interesting theories. Roll call analysis had made some contributions, but he suggested the need for a broader approach that would link legislative floor performance to off-floor activities.

Joel Silbey detailed how roll call analysis had clearly established that the historical rhythms of congressional behavior have been partisan, as opposed to the result of regional blocs or issue-oriented factions. Issue differences between the parties were substantive and were reflected in voting; party meant something to the people involved. But Silbey agreed that analysis of roll call votes provides only the beginning of an approach to the understanding of Congress, and he called for studies of constituencies, policy output, recruitment, and leadership.

David Brady and Aage Clausen suggested alternate approaches to these problems. Brady doubted there could ever be a single written "history of Congress," but that there would be many different types of histories. He noted also that conditions in Congress had changed so rapidly in recent years that many political science theories of Congress had quickly become outdated. Clausen, by contrast, proposed a large-scale, multi-scholar project on "The U.S. Congress -- The Last Two Hundred Years." He suggested a conference to determine the framework and methodology for a projected ten-volume series on congressional history.

Members of the audience noted that there are now legislative sections or roundtables at the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Association, and the Society of American Archivists whose efforts should be coordinated for a common effort. They also pointed to the availability of research grant money for writing congressional history through the Dirksen Center, the Lyndon Johnson Library, and other organizations. Michael Les Benedict concluded the session by suggesting that the legislative network newsletter of the Social Science History Association would publish information on research grants and other financial resources, and would seek cooperation among the many groups interested in developing the history of Congress on the eve of the congressional bicentennial.

Congressional Committees Checklist

In October 1985 the Greenwood Press of Westport published *Congressional Committees, 1789-1982: A Checklist*. This 210-page checklist, arranged in keyword order, identifies the more than 1,500 standing, select, special, and joint committees that have existed since 1789 in the Senate and House of Representatives. Each entry includes citations to the legislation authorizing the establishment and, where appropriate, the termination of committees and references to their reports. There are also indexes by subject and session of Congress.

Wilcox, Ridgely Oral Histories Open

Senator /Tom/ Connally said to me one day: "Would you like to be the committee staff director? We're going to set up a new staff. Under the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as you know, we're entitled to set up a professional staff. . . " He said, "I think I can talk 'Old Van' -- that's the way he referred to Senator /Arthur/ Vandenberg -- "I think I can talk Old Van into it. . . " Well, the next day, before Senator Connally had a chance to talk to Senator Vandenberg about me, the senator from Michigan called me in and asked me if I would like to become the director of his new staff. I immediately accepted the invitation. This meant, in effect, that Senator Connally was under the impression that he had gotten me the job, and I was therefore his man; and Senator Vandenberg had asked me, regardless of what Senator Connally had said or done after the event. So, in effect, I was more or less welcomed by both the Senate committee leaders, which put me in a very good position. . . . There's nothing more helpful to a Senate staff member than to be persona grata to both the majority and minority leaders.

Thus, Dr. Francis O. Wilcox became the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's first chief of staff in 1947. With his close ties to both the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee, Wilcox personified the bipartisan foreign policy of that era. In an oral history, given to the Senate Historical Office only months before his death in February 1985, Dr. Wilcox recounted his experiences in recruiting and directing the first professional staff of the Foreign Relations Committee to meet the challenges of America's expanded international role after World War II.

Francis O. Wilcox

The enormity of their task can be seen in the committee's calendar for the 80th Congress. Among the major items facing the committee, when Dr. Wilcox was appointed, were aid to Greece and Turkey, better known as the "Truman Doctrine," the Marshall Plan, the Rio treaty, the Foreign Aid Act of 1947, aid to China, the UN headquarters convention, and the Vandenberg Resolution, which led to the formation of NATO.

After leaving the committee staff in 1955, Dr. Wilcox became Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. In that role, in 1960, he was standing at the podium in the General Assembly, when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev removed his shoe and pounded it on the table. From 1961 to 1973, Dr. Wilcox served as dean of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He later became director of the Committee on Organization of Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, and director general of the Atlantic Council of the United States.

During my time /in the Senate Disbursing Office/ we went full circle from the Bob Cratchitt in "A Christmas Carol" by Charles Dickens style of bookkeeping to a sophisticated, modern records keeping system. When I went to the Disbursing Office we used to have -- if you can visualize Bob Cratchitt in the story, at his desk with the green visor and his armband -- a similar type of bookkeeping desk there. There was a safe under it where we kept all of the books that were done in pen and ink. I was always kidded about sitting on a high stool, like a bar stool, with my little visor hat on, and bands on my sleeves keeping the records of the United States Senate. I used to kid about that. But it was true, we did. We went a long ways

William A. Ridgely

in bringing it around, but it had to be done. Otherwise, I told the Appropriations Committee that if we had not automated the way we did, that I would have guessed that the Disbursing Office staff would have had to double.

William Ridgely observed the dramatic growth of the Senate staff and other changes in the institution during the years after World War II from his side of the teller's window. In 1949 Ridgely started in the Disbursing Office as a clerk, moving to head bookkeeper and Financial Clerk. In his oral history interviews he recounts the problems of paying for the Senate's expanding business, including its staff, committee work, and special investigations, as well as the Disbursing Office's dealings with the Appropriations and Rules committees.

In later years, Ridgely became Assistant Secretary of the Senate, where among other duties he handled arrangements for the Senate's participation in the Interparliamentary Union. He describes the purpose and planning of these trips, including an eventful meeting in Havana, Cuba, in 1981.

Copies of the Wilcox and Ridgely transcripts have been deposited along with others in the Senate Historical Office's oral history series at the Senate Library, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and the Legislative Archives Division of the National Archives. Microfiche editions of the interviews are also available from Scholarly Resources, Inc. of Wilmington, Delaware.

Franking Privileges *(continued)*

fine grass seeds, but asking him to send no more since his canary had died.)

Constituents often asked congressmen to frank envelopes for their own use. One member boasted that if the papers were properly arranged he could write his frank three hundred times an hour. In the years following the Civil War, congressmen began having their signatures reproduced on rubber stamps, and having additional rubber stamps made for their friends to use. In 1869 it was estimated that a ton of free mail was leaving the Washington post office daily, only a small portion of which was the type of official correspondence originally intended to be franked. Gail Hamilton once described the franking habits of her cousin, House Speaker and later Senator James G. Blaine: "until /the frank/ was abolished, he used it freely, franking his own letters and letters of friends who happened to be under his roof, or under whose roof he happened to be, as he has been from the foundation of the frank, and just as freely he used his purchased postage stamps after the frank was abolished."

Hamilton's allusion to the abolition of the frank referred to a curious hiatus, between 1873 and 1891, when Congress relinquished its franking privileges. Pressure for reform had been mounting for years, led by various Postmasters General who objected to carrying large quantities of government mail without reimbursement. In 1869, Postmaster General John Creswell recommended against continuing the "evil" of franked mail as a means of reducing his department's deficit and making it more self-sustaining. The movement for this reform drew popular support during the administration of Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877) when the public perceived widespread extravagance and corruption in the executive and legislative branches of the government. In 1872, the Republican party platform carried a plank demanding an end to the frank, and when Congress returned to session that December, following the election, many senators believed it time to enact that campaign promise into law.

The House passed H.R. 2982 to abolish the franking system and to charge previously franked correspondence at the prevailing rates of postage. However, the House bill also provided for special stamps for the free mailing of official House and Senate documents. When the bill reached the Senate floor, on January 22, 1873, this special stamp provision ran into opposition. Senator Hannibal Hamlin of Maine noted that the House bill "provides for the distribution of all your public matter, not your speeches, not your own private correspondence; but for all public printed matter stamps are to be furnished to the Secretary of the Senate, and by him to members." This arrangement, protested Hamlin, would do nothing to curb "the astonishing amount of useless public printing that is done." Senator George Edmunds of Vermont added that the Post Office intended to provide senators with special machines to stamp official documents. "I have heard it said by the enemies of our great party, Mr. President, that the Post Office Department was a machine," Edmunds declared, "but I did not know that it was going into the business of making other machines, to be furnished to the various bureau officers, and so on, for the propagation of information among the people otherwise than by writing." The idea of machine stamped mail seemed deceitful to Edmunds. "If we have told the people of the United States in our /Republican/ convention at Philadelphia that we were going to abolish the franking privilege, where is the use of saying to them we have abolished it when we have not?"

A few senators spoke in favor of the frank. Senator F.T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey defended "free and unrestrained communications between the people and their representatives," and argued that "the franking privilege has done much to promote human rights and liberty.... It is a most valuable right to those that I represent. It belongs to my constituents." Nevertheless, the Senate voted 33 to 15 for an amendment prohibiting compensation for postage of any sort. The bill then went to conference where House members tried to make the Senate's restrictions less sweeping, but failed. Abolition of the frank became law on January 31, 1873. A month later, as the 42nd Congress prepared to adjourn, its members voted themselves a pay raise from $5,000 to $7,500 a year, and made it retroactive

A cartoon from "Harper's Weekly," 1860

MEMBER OF CONGRESS (*who franks his clothes home to Wisconsin and has them cheaply laundered*)

"Seven cotton shirts, three flannel, six pairs of socks, one collar, five handkerchiefs, three pair drawers, two linen coats—that's all, I guess; and as the mail's just closing, that must do for to-day."

over the past two years. Public indignation over the "salary grab" was intense, forcing the 43rd Congress to rescind the pay increase and obliterating whatever credit Congress might have won for cost-saving through abolishing its frank.

The next eighteen years saw a gradual restoration of the frank. In 1874, legislation provided for reduced postal rates for sending the *Congressional Record* and other public documents, and in 1875 they again became postage-free. Senator Edmunds, who sponsored this provision, cited the "large number of public documents... accumulated in our committee rooms." The 1875 law also allowed for free mailing of seeds and agricultural reports. In 1883 an act made it the duty of other government departments to enclose franked envelopes in all official communications with senators and representatives requiring responses. Finally, in 1891, Congress quietly restored full franking privileges for all its correspondence. Proponents argued that abolition of the frank had not made the slightest improvement in the Post Office's financial picture, and noted that members of Congress were the only government officials required to pay postage on their public mailings. Qualified, defined, and regulated frequently over the years since 1891, the franking of mail remains an important link in the communications between members of Congress and their constituents.

Sources

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STATEMENTS ON THE SENATE'S HISTORY

Early in 1980 Senate Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated a comprehensive series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By the end of 1985 he had completed 79 statements. When the series concludes in a year or two it will be edited for publication as a separate document. All addresses are listed below with citations to the daily edition of the *Congressional Record*.

ROBERT C. BYRD'S HISTORY OF THE U.S. SENATE

TOPICAL SERIES

Date	Subject	Pages
Mar. 21, 1980	General History of Congress	S2789-2792
Mar. 28, 1980	General History of the Senate	S3232-3235
Apr. 3, 1980	Role of Congress in American Government	S3514-3516
Apr. 18, 1980	History of the Senate Leadership	S3920-3925
May 2, 1980	Role of Senate Floor Leaders	S4491-4497
May 9, 1980	Assistant Floor Leaders/Whips	S5046-5050
May 16, 1980	Secretary of the Democratic Conference/ Office of President Pro Tempore (I)	S5524-5536
May 20, 1980	List of All Current and Former Senators	S5658-5664
May 21, 1980	Office of President Pro Tempore (II)	S5673-5675
May 28, 1980	Sergeant at Arms (I)	S5842-5845
June 4, 1980	Sergeant at Arms (II)	S6222-6225
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June 16, 1980	Majority and Minority Secretaries	S7107-7111
June 25, 1980	Chaplain of the Senate	S8217-8222
July 2, 1980	Parliamentarian/Legislative Clerks	S9187-9194
July 21, 1980	*Congressional Record*/Reporters of Debate	S9469-9472
Aug. 1, 1980	Democratic Conference and Policy Committee	S10609-10616
Aug. 4, 1980	Republican Conference	S10654-10657
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Aug. 25, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1800-1859	S11456-11461
Sep. 3, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, Since 1859	S11968-11974
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Sep. 17, 1980	The United States Constitution	S12719-12723
Sep. 30,1980	General Accounting Office	S13851-13853
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Nov. 17, 1980	British Parliamentary Leadership	S14549-14551
Nov. 24, 1980	The Senate Press Galleries	S14905-14911
Dec. 4, 1980	Records of the United States Senate	S15487-15492
Dec. 8, 1980	Circular Letters of Congressmen	S15797-15812
Dec. 15, 1980	Congressional Pay, 1789-1980	S16563-16564
Jan. 21, 1981	Legislative Counsel of the Senate	S445-447
Jan. 29, 1981	Botanic Garden and Capitol Landscape	S801-806
Feb. 3, 1981	The Capitol Police	S945-951
Feb. 16, 1981	The Senate Rules -- An Overview: 1789-1981	S1284-1295
Mar. 10, 1981	Limited Debate, 1789-1981	S1928-1937
Apr. 8, 1981	U.S. Senate -- Some Senate Rules and Practices	S3615-3619
Apr. 27, 1981	God in American History	S3926-3929

CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES

May 4, 1981	The United States Senate: First Congress	S4284-4290
May 19, 1981	William Maclay's Senate	S5150-5157
June 4, 1981	Birth of Political Parties in the Senate	S5788-5794
June 15, 1981	The Senate in the Jeffersonian Era, 1800-1808	S6149-6154
July 8, 1981	The Senate and the War of 1812 (1809-1816)	S7214-7220
July 31, 1981	Early History of Senate Committees	S8915-8920
Sep. 11, 1981	Recent Procedural Reforms	S9478-9480
Oct. 20, 1981	"Era of Good Feelings," 1817-1824	S11653-11660
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Mar. 3, 1982	The Senate Comes of Age, 1829-1833	S1439-1443
Mar. 4, 1982	The Senate Comes of Age (continued)	S1584-1588
Mar. 15, 1982	Senate Censures Andrew Jackson, 1833,-1837	S2065-2070
Dec. 3, 1982	The United States Senate From 1833-1840	S13843-13850
Feb. 1, 1983	The Senate, Expansionism, and the Mexican War	S772-780
Feb. 17, 1983	The Senate and the Compromise of 1850	S1382-1387

Feb. 24, 1983	The Senate in the Turbulent 1850s	S1694-1701
Mar. 2, 1983	The Senate During the Civil War, 1859-1865 (I)	S2041-2047
Mar. 24, 1983	The Senate During the Civil War, 1859-1865 (II)	S3942-3950
Apr. 5, 1983	West Virginia is Born	S4122-4126
Apr. 15, 1983	Senate in the Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1868	S4712-4719
June 6, 1983	Senate in the Gilded Age, 1869-1868	S7756-7762
July 22, 1983	Gilded Age Tarnishes: Senate From 1877-1884	S10697-10703
Aug. 1, 1983	Senate Committees, 1845-1900	S11204-11210
Sep. 28, 1983	The Senate, 1884-1892: Watershed Years	S13066-13073
Nov. 11, 1983	The Senate, 1893-1900: Currency, Foreign Affairs, and Party Organization	S16025-16033
Feb. 3, 1984	The Senate in the Progressive Era, 1901-1912	S962-969
Mar. 2, 1984	Direct Election of Senators	S2272-2279
Mar. 8, 1984	The U.S. Senate and Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1920	S2475-2485
Mar. 26, 1984	The Senate in the Roaring Twenties	S3147-3153
June 15, 1984	The Senate and the Great Depression	S7423-7435
July 27, 1984	The Senate and the Great Debate Over Foreign Policy, 1919-1941	S9418-9425
Sep. 7, 1984	Profiles of New Deal Senators	S10844-10851
Feb. 26, 1985	Women Senators	S2174-2180
Mar. 28, 1985	Black Senators	S3756-3761
May 16, 1985	The Senate and the Second World War, 1941-1945	S6374-6382
June 3, 1985	Senate Committees, 1900-1946	S7291-7295
June 17, 1985	Congressional Reform: The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946	S8289-8295
July 8, 1985	The U.S. Senate and The Cold War, 1945-1953	S9066-9071
Sep. 23, 1985	The Senate and Joe McCarthy, 1947-1957	S11920-11926
Oct. 25, 1985	Two West Virginia Senators	S14220-14227
Nov. 18, 1985	Robert A. Taft's Senate, 1945-1953	S15692-15699

First Senate Office Building *(continued)*

additional offices for members, who either had to work from their overflowing desks on the Senate chamber floor, where they were at the mercy of constant interruptions, or flee to their rooming houses and hold court in their parlors. Senator William Frye of Maine later claimed that it was that dreadful winter of 1888, when senators had to struggle to and fro from their home offices to the Capitol through perilously icy streets, that finally prompted them to deal with their space problem.

One more winter passed before a solution to the overcrowding dilemma appeared in mid-1890. The handsome Maltby House was for sale. A large, five-story apartment house, only three years old, it stood at the corner of New Jersey Avenue and B Street, now Constitution Avenue, just a few steps from the Senate wing of the Capitol. Designed by Washington architect Robert Stead and built in 1887 by New York developer Maltby Lane, the red brick building with red mortar and red Potomac sandstone trim had cost $97,000. On September 26, 1890, Senator John Sherman of Ohio introduced a bill to purchase the Maltby House for $133,000. By the following spring, the negotiations were complete. The Senate acquired the building for $125,000 and the adjoining lots for $13,000. Soon thereafter the delighted senators and committees began to move into their new quarters.

The House of Representatives immediately displayed its jealousy. The 332 representatives had no more office space in the Capitol than the 76 senators had had prior to buying Maltby House. Previously, House members thought that Butler House, the enormous granite home of the late Representative Ben Butler of Massachusetts, on the House side of Capitol Hill would be available for their office use. However, the Coast and Geodetic Survey had quietly taken over that building and the representatives were still smarting from the loss. By July 1892, several of them openly coveted the Senate's new office building.

Representative Thomas Henderson of Illinois charged that Maltby House was too large for just the Senate and asked that the House be permitted to occupy some of its rooms. Representative Benton McMillin of Tennessee, with "some exhibition of warmth," declared that the Senate now had too much room and ought to be made to share it. The Senate, however, had no intention of giving up its new-found spacious quarters in the Maltby Building.

Within a few years, senatorial attitudes changed as members' delight with their new office space turned to dismay. The Maltby Building proved less the answer to a prayer for more space than expected, for the building began to deteriorate almost immediately. The upper floors under the wooden mansard roof were insufferably hot. Rooms there were routinely assigned to the newest senators who, as spring turned to summer, refused to use their "ovens." Broken windows were not replaced. A familiar figure about the building was "Stubby" Stubbs, the heating engineer, who carried a tool box and large hemp bag full of rags and cotton to stuff in window cracks against the bluster of winter's fierce winds. The performance of the building's electrical system ranged from erratic at best to dangerous at worst. Nearly every thunderstorm cut off the electricity for days.

The Maltby Building's worst problems, however, weren't with maintenance but with construction. In 1901, alarmed by what seemed to be a rapid rate of settlement, the Senate requested the Superintendent of the Capitol Grounds to report on the structure's safety. The Superintendent responded that the problem lay with the building's foundation: "The Maltby Building stands on what is commonly called 'made' ground. From best information it was years back a dumping ground for all kinds of refuse. The site was formerly occupied by the stables of the old Washington and Georgetown Railway Company." The site's use as a stable was confirmed when the Superintendent removed the brick elevator shaft that had settled seven inches, carrying the floors and walls with it, and replaced it with a steel one: "When its foundations were exposed, they were found to rest on what was practically an old bed of manure, over two cart loads of which were taken out." The Superintendent

concluded that the Maltby Building was in very bad shape but usable as long as "special precautions" were taken to "prevent the overloading of floors throughout the building, especially with books in bags," files, and heavy boxes of documents, just the things that every senator tended to load into his office. The city fire marshal was less optimistic. He reported, simply, that the building was a fire trap!

Despite this grim report, the Senate continued to use the Maltby Building, weighting down its precarious floors, until 1908-1909, when the building now known as the Russell Building, was completed. Charles Watkins, a secretary to Senator James Clark of Arkansas and later the Senate's first official Parliamentarian, remembered that when he worked for Senator Clark in the Maltby Building at the turn of the century, one mailman handed out all the mail and walked up all five floors on his rounds: "To receive a dozen first class letters a day was exceptionally heavy and I recall once there was a period of three days when we got none." By 1909, when the senators prepared to move to new quarters, their mail was coming in by the sacks full.

In 1908, as the Maltby Building was falling apart and the senators were ready to evacuate, the Senate finally agreed to share the building with the House. After only a year the House, as well, fled its sagging walls. The Maltby Building stood unused for a decade except for storage on its lower floors and was gradually stripped of its mantles, radiators and plumbing. In 1917, there were suggestions that the building be pressed into wartime service, but Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia protested so loudly against the idea of condemning clerks, soldiers or anyone else to its unsafe halls that the idea was dropped.

The Maltby Building remained at the corner of New Jersey and Constitution Avenues until 1930 when the government paid the Hechinger Company $1,873 to knock it down. Today, while the three white marble Senate Office Buildings rise majestically along Constitution Avenue, the area where the Senate's first office building once stood has been transformed into a lovely park on the north side of the Capitol.

Mary Logan's Senate

Mary Logan moved to Washington following the election in 1858 of her husband to a seat in the House of Representatives. In 1871 John A. Logan (R-IL) began a Senate career that lasted, with a two-year break, until his death in 1886. The Logans, in their respective spheres, exercised great influence in the political and social life of the nation's capital. In 1901 Mary Logan published *Thirty Years in Washington,* from which is taken the following account of the Senate in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Making our way to a seat in the Senate gallery we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. It is not because the men are so very different, for they are not. Most of them have been members of the House earlier in their careers. The difference lies altogether in the way of doing business and in the traditions which have come down from the First Congress. When Congress was sitting in Philadelphia previous to 1800, a writer in one of the newspapers of the day said:—"Among the senators is observed constantly during the debates the most delightful silence, the most beautiful order, gravity and personal dignity of manner. They all appear every morning full-powdered and dressed in the richest material. The very atmosphere of the chamber seems to inspire wisdom, mildness, condescension. Should any of the senators so far forget for a moment as to be the cause of a protracted whisper, while another was addressing the Vice-President, three gentle raps with his silver pencil case by Mr. Adams immediately restored everything to repose and the most respectful attention."

The dignified pace set by the first senators has changed but little. Then there were but twenty-six senators, and now there are ninety, or more than there were in the original House of Representatives. Time has modified somewhat the early dignity of the body, but it is hardly perceptible. The bitterness of partisan feeling seldom shows itself in the calm and dignified serenity which is the traditional senatorial demeanor. There is a slight moving about; senators come in and are called out, but so quietly do they move on the soft carpets that no one is disturbed. Occasionally there is a sharp hand-clap, and one of the pages, all bright-looking, smartly-dressed youngsters, trips lightly up to some senator to do his bidding—to get a book or paper from his committee room, or to take a telegram to the operator in the corridor. These page-boys, when disengaged, are seated on the carpeted steps to the Vice-President's platform, and, when there has been nothing to distract them, they have been known to have a quiet little game of marbles behind the Vice-President's chair, but in such a silent and decorous manner that the dignity of the Vice-President was not ruffled by a knowledge of it. Congressmen who always have the privilege of coming on the floor during open sessions of the Senate, drop in often, especially if some great debate is on, but they leave their house manners outside the door. The people in the galleries adapt themselves unconsciously to the calmer and higher atmosphere. If they should be so rash as to applaud anything a senator said, the gallery would be cleared. While the Republicans are seated on one side and the Democrats on the other, it is a common thing to see a senator of one political persuasion walk over to the seat of one of the opposite faith and talk with him with every evidence of sincere good nature, and as if there was no such thing as differences in political belief. Even in the stormy days when Calhoun was the lightning, Webster the thunder, and Clay the rainbow of the Senate, and in those still more tempestuous days just preceding the Civil War, there were few occasions when senatorial courtesy was damaged by passionate outbursts of feeling.

Mary Logan

The greatest change that has been brought about is in the apparent lack of attention given to speakers. It often happens in the long discussion of some important matter on which many senators make lengthy speeches that the audience is small and the attention limited, but this is due to the fact that the "Congressional Record" brings out in cold type the next morning all that is said, so that a senator can lose little at such times if he withdraws to his committee room to take up the multifarious matters always demanding his attention. As one-third of the body is elected every two years, the larger part is always experienced, the more so as most elections are re-elections, and the absolutely new members are readily assimilated. They quickly find that nothing offends so much as violations of Senate traditions of dignity and respect and courtesy. The one unpardonable sin in the Senate is to be unsenatorial.

How effective are these traditions is shown by the fact that there is not, as in the House, any means for limiting debate. There is no time this side of eternity when a senator *must* stop talking. No matter what business interests may hang upon the issue, the Senate can not even act till it has unanimous consent.

Another evidence of the rigidity of tradition is given in the executive session. The Senate sat with closed doors for two sessions, or until 1794, when it was resolved that the legislative sittings should be opened unless otherwise ordered. The secret sessions are now confined to executive nominations or treaties, and though so mysterious are generally very tame affairs. One senator relates that when he first came to Washington, it was as a Representative, and when upon the floor of the Senate one day, an executive session was ordered. The galleries were cleared and the representative

was courteously asked to retire with the rest. As he went out he drew mental pictures of what sacred and highly important affairs these secret sessions must be. A few years later he appeared as a Sentor and he anxiously awaited the moment when an executive session should be held. Finally one of the venerable Senators solemnly moved that the Senate go into executive session. The new member assumed his gravest dignity. The moment he had so long awaited had come. People filed out of the galleries; the doors were closed and at last the Senate was alone. It was then moved that Mr. Somebody be confirmed in his appointment to a post-office somewhere. The Vice-President of the United States remarked: "Without objection it is so ordered." Then there was a motion to adjourn and another mysterious executive session was over.

The Senate would not abandon this curious privilege, however, not because it cares so much about keeping the proceedings of an executive session secret, but simply because it is the traditional custom of the Senate. The secrets of these sessions as a matter of fact are seldom kept, even when important. One of the rules is that "any senator or officer of the Senate who shall disclose the secret or confidential business of the proceedings of the Senate, shall be liable, if a Senator, to expulsion from the body, and if an officer, to dismissal from the service of the Senate and to punishment for contempt." But the secrets always leak out and no punishment is ever inflicted.

The Senate begins its legislative work at noon, and when the hour is reached the gallery is generally filled, for on days when a debate or discussion of some subject of great public interest is promised, people throng into the galleries early in the morning, often bringing luncheon with them. If they should once surrender their seat, they might not be able to gain an entrance again that day. The Vice-President enters with the Chaplain, who makes a short, impressive prayer, after which comes much routine business, communications, petitions, memorials, bills, and resolutions. These over, the Senate usually proceeds to its calendar, which consists of measures reported from committees. Sometimes this is taken in order, but oftener measures are taken from it during the morning hour "by general consent," something which could never be had in the House. The morning hour ends at two o'clock, when the calendar is laid aside and the Senate proceeds to the consideration of what is known as unfinished business. What this shall be is also a matter of general consent — that is, a unanimous agreement has been secured to consider a certain measure unfinished business. It must come up every day at two o'clock until it is finally disposed of.

Usually when the President desires to communicate with the Senate, one of his private secretaries presents himself in the main aisle of the Senate chamber in the afternoon. The presiding officer, availing himself of the first pause in the remarks of the Senator having the floor, interrupts him by saying: "The Senate will receive a message from the President of the United States." The assistant door-keeper, making a profound obeisance, announces "A message from the President of the United States," and the secretary then says: "Mr. President, I am instructed by the President of the United States to present a message in writing." He then bows and his package of manuscript is carried to the presiding officer, after which the Senator whose remarks were interrupted resumes them. Messages brought from the House of Representatives by its clerk are received with similar formalities. Later in the afternoon, a motion is generally made that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Such is the general routine of each day's work in the Senate, but the days vary greatly in interest to the visitor. He may chance upon some long, dry speech, which as it is read empties the galleries, or he may listen to a speech which will pass into history. He may be still more fortunate, and listen to a sharp debate when speeches are made by leaders on both sides, and the finest abilities of able men are brought into play.

There have been less than a thousand senators in our history, and of these seventeen have afterwards become Presidents, though curiously enough no Senator when in actual service has ever been called to the Presidency. Most of the Senators have their private secretaries who attend to their enormous mails, for there are plenty of people in every state who consider it their blessed privilege to write to them upon every conceivable subject and to ask them for anything they happen to wish. And the Senators are very particular about replies to their constituents. Almost every day a senator will find in his mail requests of which the following, as exhibited by one member, may be taken as samples:

"Senator — Will carp eat gold fish? If so, send me some carp."

This was referred to the Fish Commission, which doubtless attended to it, for the Fish Commission must needs please the Senator; so that when the time comes he may favor a good appropriation for its work, besides, the Senator assumes that the writer has a vote which may come in handy when his term expires.

Here is another:

"Dear Senator — We want a baby. We want you to pick us out a baby, my wife wants a girl but I want a boy but never mind. I don't care witch. Tell me what it cost. Respectfully,"——

The writer had probably heard about the Foundling's Institute of the District of Columbia, over which the Secretary of the Interior has supervision.

The Senators have their lobbies and lounging rooms where many a choice cigar is smoked and many a story told. But this is beyond the rude gaze of the world. If you wish to see a Senator you are supposed to go to the large waiting-room at one side of the Senate chamber, where decorum reigns. At the passage-way sits an elderly man with several youths in waiting. You hand your card to this man, who scribbles the Senator's name on it, and away goes a messenger. Soon he will return and make to those in waiting a series of perfunctory announcements like these:

"Senator So-and-So is not here at present."

"Senator Blank will see you, sir. Step right into the reception-room."

"Senator X is very sorry, but the Senator makes it a rule not to see ladies at the Capitol."

There are a plenty who do, however, for it is a noticeable fact that the waiting-room is frequently thronged with women. A number of them are conversing with Senators; others are gazing towards the doors which lead into the Senate. Some seem to be waiting with eager eyes and anxious faces; others are leaning back upon the sofas in attitudes of luxurious listlessness. Do you ask why they are here? Are they studying the stately proportions and exquisite *finesse* of the anteroom? Not at all. It is not devotion to the aesthetic arts nor the inspiration of patriotism which brings these women here, but necessity, either real or imaginary. Sometimes it is their only way to success in securing employment or a hearing of their grievances and claims. They are a few, only a very few, of the women with "claims," who through the sessions of Congress haunt the departments, the White House and the Capitol.

The dejected-looking persons on the sofa opposite are petitioners for relief by an act of Congress authorizing the payment of some claim. You may be certain by the unhopeful expression of their faces that it is their own claims which, almost unaided and alone, they are trying to "work through" Congress. Their homes are far distant. They borrowed money to come here and to support their families meanwhile; borrowed money to pay their own board, and the exorbitant fees of the claim agents, who, constantly fanning the flame of "great expectations," assure them every day that Congress will pay them the thousands which they demand. Meantime the session is almost ended, and these claims, on which hang such heavy loads of debt and fear, lie hidden and forgotten in the pigeon-hole of the Committee which must consider and report upon each before it will be heard in the Senate or House.

Members of Committees are beset by such claimants, but are always kind and considerate. Few have the courage to add to the misery of these unfortunates by frankly telling them the truth. They find it out at last, and then, remembering all the evasions, in their disappointment and hopeless poverty, they denounce senators and members as "deceitful and heartless," whereas these honorable gentlemen were only trying to be kind and encouraging. Besides, members of both houses are too much interested in immense claims involving millions to be paid out of the National Treasury, and too much absorbed in the discussion of the general welfare of the Republic, to be able to come down to the small particulars of individual claims and grievances.

Popular Account of Senate's Early Years Reprinted

In 1962 the Senate published as a Senate document Roy Swanstrom's doctoral dissertation entitled *The United States Senate: 1787-1801*. Recently, with a view to the forthcoming bicentennial of Congress, the Senate reprinted this colorful and well documented 325-page study. Individual copies of this volume (Senate Document 99-19) are available without charge from the Senate Historical Office.

CORRECTIONS

In *Senate History* #10 (May 1985) Louis Wyman (R-NH) was omitted from the list of living former senators. That same list carried incorrect party affiliations for Howard Cannon (D-NV) and Roger Jepsen (R-IA).

Senate Chamber Funeral Service of Joseph T. Robinson, July 14, 1937

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SECRETARY OF U.S. SENATE